1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche



to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particular, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche



tion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1).

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours.

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections.

## FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mürke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *chaikan* if salted, and *wilpud* or *ullpud* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *remulkofke*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*iwinkofke*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior.

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche



slopes of the Andes on the east. This area is characterized by many picturesquely rounded hills, no one of which rises very high above sea level. Throughout much of the year one may see in the distance as many as eight snow-capped volcanic peaks on the eastern horizon, among them the renowned Llaima and Villarica. One outstanding feature of this zone is the Cautín River Valley, and another is the valley of the Cholchol. The Cholchol River and its tributaries flow through much of the region under study, and at Neuva Imperial the Cholchol joins the main branch of the Cautín (Map 2).

Most of the trade contacts of Cautinche, Carrarriñe, and Renaco are with the Chilean community at Cholchol, which can be reached by unimproved dirt roads. A considerable amount of traffic goes by oxcart in dry weather, but in the rainy winter months travel is limited to horseback. Many transactions also take place in Nueva Imperial, which is a much larger commercial center than Cholchol. This city may be reached in the usual fashion, except for the need of crossing the Cholchol River at Los Boldos (Map 2). A flat raft, pulled hand over hand along a steel cable by passengers and "crew" (Pl. V, Fig. 2), makes necessary crossings, except when the river is in flood. Nueva Imperial is situated on the branch line of a railroad that connects with the main line at Temuco, a thriving frontier city of more than 40,000 inhabitants, which is the capital of Cautín Province and is the largest business center in the territory under consideration. Indians from many neighboring reservations visit Temuco regularly, and in fair weather it can be reached from Cholchol by horseback in four to five hours and by oxcart in less than a day. A few trucks and an occasional automobile travel between Cholchol and Temuco with passengers and freight, when road conditions permit. In May, 1948, members of the Temuco flying club began to provide occasional air service to and from Cholchol in a small, single-engined plane. A large crowd gathered on the town's soccer field (Pl. VI, Fig. 2) to watch the landing of the plane when Miss Dorothea Royce, head of the Misión Araucana's hospital, became the first passenger to fly out of Cholchol. Thereafter, for the few who could avail themselves of the service, Cholchol became only fifteen

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche



number of households whose male occupants are, as a rule, patrilineally related. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and most marriages are exogamic with respect to the husband's reducción. Unilocal residence formerly prevailed, since married sons continued to live under their father's roof;[7] but the modern tendency, at least in the region north of the Cautin River, has been for sons at marriage to build independent houses (rucas) on their natal reservations.

Araucanian communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion. There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town.[8] Correspondingly, it is not surprising that there should be a minimum of community enterprises. Weather permitting, a fair amount of visiting takes place among friends and relatives who live on the same reserve, but inter-reducción contacts are comparatively few. This is particularly true during the cold and rainy months of winter, when roads wash out and travel becomes all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every community tends to be cut off from its neighbors.

The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings known as kawin or trawin are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants, to announce important events or news items, to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place, to celebrate a holiday, to hold a thanksgiving ritual or a housewarming fiesta, or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability.[9] Whatever their particular aims

[7] For a discussion of the significance of unilocal residence, see M. Titiev, "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 511-30.

[8] The limits of each reducción are defined by legal title to a given piece of land. These titles were originally allotted to recognized chiefs, who assigned particular portions to their descendants and followers. The collapse of the old system of chieftainship has resulted in much confusion with respect to land holdings.

[9] Public assemblies may be called kawin or trawin. These words are variously spelled by Spanish writers, and some authors try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All assemblies, however, share so many features that it seems permissible to treat them together. On this point compare Eulojio Robles R., "Costumbres i

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile



226 sitting on rocks at the shore, waiting for the men. If the catch is large, they assist in preparing the fish for market—their duty is to clean thoroughly the cavity of the fish after the men have removed the visceral contents. During my visit three men landed with a small catch—a day's work (pl. 41, *1*, *2*); one had taken seven fish; each of the others, two. Since the catch was small, the women merely looked on while the men pulled in their boat, washed their nets, and cleaned [482] the fish. A whiskbroomlike implement of esparto was used in the cleaning. Fish are carried home in netted bags called wilal.

In former times fishing in Andean streams was usually done at night. Fish, attracted by the light of a torch held over the water's edge, were grabbed at the underside of the head and dropped into a pouch suspended from the fisherman's neck. Kauke (a species of mackerel) were most easily caught in this way. Today, fishing in streams is done with hook and line.

Women take from the Pacific such shellfish as macha, loko, mañihue, piure, and ariso. Collecting shellfish is called l'afkentun. Macha bury themselves under the sand. To collect them the woman walks into a sandy place not far from the water's edge, plants a stick in the sand, supports herself by leaning upon it with both hands, and digs both feet into the sand, moving them back and forth until she feels the macha, which she then digs out by hand.

Loko and mañihue attach themselves firmly to rocks near the water's edge and are pried loose with a crowbarlike iron implement. One used by a woman was 13 inches long, ½ inch thick, 3 inches wide at prying end; with it she loosened the shellfish from all sides; "it is best to detach them from the bottom last, so that you can catch them [482] as they fall." Shellfish, too, are carried home in wilal.

### TRANSPORTATION

484 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p 712), the Araucanians had no roads, only trails; bridges (kuikui), consisting of one or several logs, spanned small streams. The tumpline and fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal. Soon after the arrival of the Spaniards, the horse was used for land transportation.

[487] Today anyone wishing to go a short distance, "to the neighbors or 481 to the brook or the woods nearby," walks. From every ruka footpaths 482 lead in several directions—one always leads to the source of water supply. A woman on foot carries light-weight things, maybe vegetables and ears of grain or herbs, in either a basket (pls. 47, *3*;

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile



in the Pacific (pl. 41, *1*); the dugout (wampo; Spanish, canoa) (pl. 40, *3*) and the raft, the balsa (tanji), were used in Coñaripe area to transport persons and loads across rivers.

In all areas rivers were forded on foot, on horseback, and in oxcarts. Bridges were found only where roads had been built by the Chilean Government or by private lumbering firms. Creeks were forded on foot or were crossed on footbridges consisting of one or several logs at convenient places.

It is a man's duty, in general, to do the family selling, buying, and trading; consequently men travel greater distances than do women and children. A few men informants of all areas had traveled as far as Santiago (a day and night trip on a local train); no women had. All men informants had been to the largest trading center near their area: for Alepúe area, Valdivia (49,000 population); for Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, Villarrica (4,600); for Boroa area, Nueva Imperial (6,600). Many women in Boroa had been to Nueva Imperial, their nearest large city; only a few women in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas had been to their respective large centers. Of 21 children in an Alepúe school, all but one girl had been to San José de Mariquina, the nearest trading center, a distance of 3 to 4 hours on horseback. Half of the boys had been to Lanco, a greater distance; one-third, to Lancoche, still farther away; but none of the girls had been to either of these places.

## TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND CURRENCY

Bartering, as in former days, is still the prevailing form of trade among the Araucanians themselves. "When we were married, we were very poor," said a 60-year-old Coñaripe woman. "We cleared a piece of land and planted wheat in it. At harvest time I exchanged for cows and sheep with Mapuche around here, who were in need of wheat, all the wheat that we could spare. Soon we had a number of animals, and that is how we got our start." A man in the same area exchanged a horse for two and a half sacks of wheat—a sack approximated a hundred kilograms. A woman was seen exchanging sugar for both wheat and flour; another paid for yerba maté with a hen. Children in all areas were seen bartering, among themselves, such things as marbles for tops, pencils for paper, tortillas for other things.

Borrowing, too, was done in all areas. Such needed things as axes, hoes, screwdrivers, plows, oxcarts, hats, needles, kettles, were being borrowed. Unfailingly things borrowed were returned. Families helped each other out with sugar and flour; equal amounts were returned when a new supply was obtained.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina



641 The Araucanians today are Argentine citizens with the privileges
648 and obligations of citizenship. Their births are recorded in the general registry along with all Argentines. Like all adult residents of Argentina, they hold registered identification cards issued by the police: men, a Libreta Enrolamiento; women, a Libreta Cívica. Araucanians voted in the presidential election of 1951, Argentine women and Indians of all Argentina casting votes for the first time in such an election. Araucanians, like all citizens, must have a permit to leave the country; they pay taxes; they have the right to attend public schools; all laws are applicable to them, as to all other citizens of Argentina. Their particular interests and problems come under the jurisdiction of the Ministerio de Interior in Buenos Aires.

## LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

### LAND TENURE, GRAZING, WEALTH

423 As already stated (pp. 346-347), a cacique and his people laid claim to all the lands in a specific area. The people occupied only a section of the area at a time. Within the section each family had the exclusive use of a piece of land, which was recognized by all other families in the group. (Pls. 63, *4*; 64; 67, *3*; 75, *3*.) To a degree, then, it is probably correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed.

361 Grazing lands not in use at a particular time were owned in common.
423 When herds had depleted the pasturage of a section, the cacique gave
484 orders for the people to move to a new grazing section. "Everyone got ready then to move," said Kolupan. "Sometimes we had been in a place for a year or two." The women collapsed the toldos—the last thing to be done. They rolled the hide coverings around the poles of the framework and put them and other movable property on pack horses. Soon everything was on its way. Kolupan sat reminiscing, and noted with a pleasant smile, "Yes, in those days we moved wherever we wanted to move to." Then he added, somewhat vindictively, "It is not that way today!"

648 Sporadically, in the 1880's, the Argentine Government through its military organization took possession of more and more land claimed by the Araucanians. The Araucanians, unable to resist the Argentine cavalry, moved farther and farther into the Andes. Even there the boundaries of their lands continued to be narrowed, especially so between 1895 and 1903. In the early 1900's the Argentine Government laid claim to all Araucanian lands, and then gave each cacique a specific area for his people. The cacique in turn gave the head of each family

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche



The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle.

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche



the meal which, at great cost to the family of the deceased, will be offered to the full complement of relatives and neighbors who arrive before noon. A thousand or more people are often present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or in oxcarts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the *llañi*, or form a semicircle around the *llañi*, if their number is large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of the deceased's immediate family (or by several family members). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Through the widest extension of these terms, even nonrelatives are accorded family status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, renew acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family oxcarts or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the